1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 487 [438] [461] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 179 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
221 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

727 The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
[361] Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

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184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
251 and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone
● [438] from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

13

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, [574] boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

251 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made 252 in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every [264] meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cyoad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

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Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce.

824

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (Ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles.

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The people of Matsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Matsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local.

[462]

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In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom.

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Men in Matsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hingun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist.

351

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters.

512 461 [855] [962] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

[574]

512 [231] Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

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512 [231] [938] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 262 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes.

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services.

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels.

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective.

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a six pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
[438] several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
251 body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[443] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
[434] leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen only two 226 are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, [166] leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled [438] in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and [443] peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing 226 boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able 443 women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat [262] is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. 313 Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, [423] except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surround- [651] ing the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced [185] on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned [423] by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less de- [685] pleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, [957] go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by wood- [487] cutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife [412]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
[465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
[647] ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

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177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock
438 Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings [435] a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a [433] one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to re- [435] ceive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. [439] The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctence on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

2. Rural Industries

178 438 543 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 257 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refineries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 257 461 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one person per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Agricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

471 257 [433]

256 [439] Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 433 [178] Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegusuku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 197 829

Summary On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829